

The American
FEDERATIONIST

DECEMBER 1952

UNIVERSITY
OF MICHIGAN

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PERIODICAL
READING ROOM



WILLIAM GREEN

Born March 3, 1870

Died November 21, 1952

Those of us who have grown up in the labor movement know that its real strength and function is not as an army with banners flying, enlisted for a crusade, but as groups of workers interested in having a job and in doing a good day's work, who want to improve conditions so that work will be less dangerous and burdensome, and to secure pay increases so that they and their families can live better. Security is what lies closest to the wage-earner's heart. His greatest hope for security is the union.

—*William Green.*

The American FEDERATIONIST

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Historic events have taken place in the American labor movement in recent days. Because of these events, it has been necessary to omit from this issue many articles and features previously scheduled.

The Executive Council for 1953

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The Union

In our time, with its great concentrations of wealth and industry, vast powers are exercised by their possessors. The very concentration and possession is potent organization. Unless the workers had combined in unions of labor, their condition today would be such as to shock the mind.

That any hope for material improvement, moral advancement or higher ethical consideration is possible without the organization of labor few now seriously believe. Yet when that which we call "the labor question" is discussed, there are not many who will undertake to ascertain the laborers' side of it.

The trade union demands a comprehensive reduction in the hours of labor so as to afford the workers sufficient leisure in which to cultivate their mental and moral faculties. It demands better homes, better surroundings, better opportunities for the cultivation of the higher and nobler functions of human activity. Asking nothing but what is just for ourselves, we impose no injustice upon others.

The trade union cultivates self-respect, manhood and character. Its influence for good encompasses the whole human family. It seeks systematically to attain better relations between the employers and employed. It compels a higher ethical consideration for the rights of all.

As an individual gains strength by the exercise of natural functions, so do the laborers gain strength in proportion as they assert and manfully stand for their rights, and even make temporary sacrifices in order to attain them.

The assertion of the wage-earners of our country that they will not only organize but constantly press their demands upon society for a better recognition of the rights to which they are entitled really assures freedom and peace and the perpetuity of American institutions.

Samuel Gompers.

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President Green Is Dead



William Green of Ohio, president of the American Federation of Labor, 1924-1952.

THERE IS SADNESS in the land. There is sadness in America and in distant countries, wherever men toil for their bread and cherish liberty. For William Green is dead. Bill Green, the beloved president of the American Federation of Labor, the man who devoted his life to fighting for justice for working people and against every form of tyranny and oppression, is dead—and millions, at home and abroad, mourn his passing. For they know that they have lost a very good friend—a great leader of labor, yes, but also a kindly, simple, decent human being who exemplified democracy at its best.

Bill Green died as he wanted to die—in harness. In December of 1924, following the death of Samuel Gompers, he was chosen by the Executive Council as the president of the American Federation of Labor. Every convention thereafter voted to continue him in office as the president of the Federation. In September, at the New York convention, he was reelected once again. And Bill Green was still serving his fellow trade unionists as their chosen leader when death came on Friday, November 21.

President Green was eighty-two years of age, and for almost seventy of those years he had been an active, ardent, devoted trade unionist. From boyhood to the end of his life, he believed in the rightness of the principles and the objectives of the organized labor movement. The cause of labor claimed his thoughts and his energies from the time when he went to work and joined the union at Coshocton, Ohio, his home town—the American Federation of Labor was only a few years old then—until the final weeks of his long and useful life.

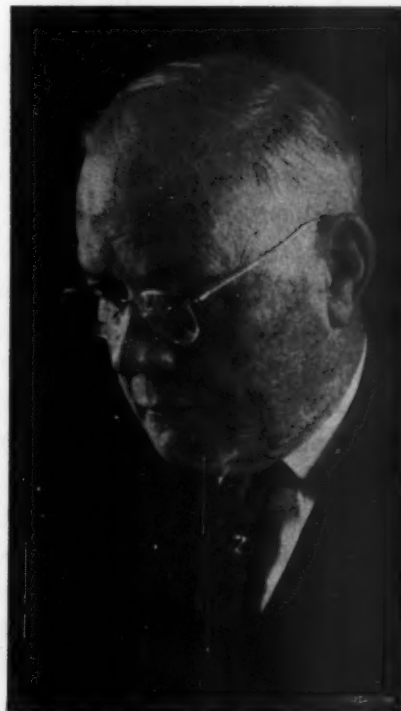
He was dedicated to the cause of labor—and he served it zealously, intelligently and effectively. It was a greater American Federation of Labor that he left behind than the Federation whose helm he took twenty-eight years ago.

William Green was the son of Hugh Green, a coal miner who had come to America from England. His mother was Welsh. Hugh and Jane Green settled in Coshocton, and it was there that Billy Green was born on March 3, 1870. Hugh Green, a trade unionist and a deeply religious man, worked as a coal miner and made a dollar and a half a day.

The Green family of Hardscrabble Hill knew few luxuries. The little home was crowded. There were times when there wasn't enough food for the family. Clothes had to serve for a long, long time. Little Billy gathered acorns and used them for marbles. He attended a one-room school. When he was ten years old, he began to earn a little money doing odd jobs. When he was fourteen the railroad builders reached Coshoc-

ton and hired Billy as a water boy. His pay was fifty cents a week. He worked hard and felt proud to have a job. Two years later he walked two and one-half miles to Morgan Run Mine No. 3, the mine where his father was employed, and went down into the dark mine with him. Half a century later William Green told about it in these words:

"I started mining coal at sixteen as the normal course of life and without any feeling of self-pity on my part. On the contrary, I was glad to take on a man's work that I might have some income to add to the family's purse. That was before the days of the safety lamp or electricity. I helped father to get out the coal he loosened and loaded it into cars to be carried up. I watched him work, and then he let me begin to use the tools. When I was able to use them, I bought my own—at the company store. It was all hand work then. Working



His humility, sincerity and loyalty to labor's cause marked this man.



When Billy Green was four.

with my father, I learned my trade."

And the boy learned his trade well. He learned that there was much more to coal mining than he had thought. He learned the importance of experience and care in the use of explosives. He acquired skill in the various operations. Young Billy became a good workman.

About then Billy was thinking very seriously of studying for the Baptist ministry. He and his father discussed the idea, and both considered it a good one, for the lad had a deep and genuine love of religion and had already shown unusual oratorical ability. But there was the hard problem of money. The funds needed to pay for the schooling which would prepare him for the ministry could not be raised. The few dollars he had saved were far from enough. And so Billy Green had to put away his



A young coal miner and trade unionist at Coshocton.

Union leader and delegate to A. F. of L. conventions.



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hopes of becoming a minister. He had no choice but to recognize that he was a coal miner and would have to stick to his trade.

Young Billy went to the meetings of the miners' union with his father and became a member of the organization without delay. He felt happy and proud when he received his card of membership. He attended the union's meetings regularly, for he greatly enjoyed being with people. He liked to listen to the discussions of miners' problems which took place at the meetings. Now and then Billy would ask a question or even venture a suggestion. After a while the president of the union drafted him for committee duty, and soon the lad knew every member.

He learned why the miners were unhappy. On pay-day every miner received his pay envelope—and there was usually very little money in it. The company did not pay him for all the salable coal he had mined but only for such coal as passed over the mine-screen. The bars of the screen were one and three-quarter inches apart.

"Miners received no pay for the coal that went through the screen, although it could be sold on the open market," Bill Green was to say years later in describing his early life. "We felt cheated. Father would owe the company for house rent, for food and clothing bought at the company store, perhaps a payment for the company doctor, for powder and for sharpening his tools and perhaps for tool replacement. As his pay was only \$1.50 a day, there was little real money coming to him."

The miners were irate. They wanted to be



A famous American near the close of his long and honorable career.

paid on a run-of-the-mine basis. They did not want to be denied payment for the coal they had dug which the company managed to force through the screen. The mine owners were obdurate. They refused to see it the employees' way. The miners, on their side, regarded the screening system as grossly unfair, as a form of robbery.

It was not long before the Coshocton local began to elect the alert and likable Bill Green to office. He served the union as secretary, as treasurer and, after a while, as president.

"It was my satisfaction to work for my fellow miners," he said. "As an officer of the union I was accepted as having a responsibility for the miners and consequently designated to serve in emergencies from which no miner can be secure. The whole mining village lived under the shadow of fear of mine accidents. Pillars might give way, too heavy explosions bring down the roof, gas might collect or explode, the mine fan fail to work. Life might be snuffed out in the darkness of the mine at any time. One-third of the miners died as a result of accidents."



Husband, father and citizen. He had a devoted wife, five daughters and a son.

Young Bill Green proved to be an excellent officer of his union. He was conscientious in the performance of his many duties. He was a good speaker. He manifested reasoning powers. His fellow miners in Coshocton liked him as a person and they approved his conduct as one of their union officers. He had a good head on his shoulders. He was a fighter but no radical.

Even when resentment flared against the company and the inequitable conditions of work, the men listened to young Bill Green and were won over to his view that as laboring people they could gain more by using their heads than by slugging.

The young miner had a temper, but he early realized that he would be wise to master it. The grievances of the miners were felt just as keenly and resented just as hotly by Bill Green as by any other member of the union, but it seemed sensible to him to try to obtain better conditions of work and the elimination of grievances through rational means—peaceful negotiation and collective bargaining. A strike was a serious matter and should be used only as a last resort, he would earnestly argue.

He became president of the Coshocton local and his activities in trade unionism increased. He

was moved up in 1900 to the presidency of Sub-district 6 of Ohio District 6 of the United Mine Workers of America. And later, in 1906, he was elevated to the presidency of District 6 itself. William Green's name was coming to notice in labor circles outside the old home town.

The miner was now a married man and a family man. The girl he had chosen to be his wife was Jennie Mobley, the daughter of a miner. They became the parents of one son and five daughters.

Miners from Ohio and a number of other states appealed to William Green to run for the presidency of the United Mine Workers. There was widespread dissatisfaction at the time with the way things were going at international headquarters. It was felt that union headquarters and the coal operators had become too chummy. Bill Green agreed to make the fight for those who wanted honesty in the United Mine Workers. After a hard campaign, the election was held. The announced result was 2,941 votes for Bill Green and 5,701 against him, but many thought the ballots had not been counted properly, and the next year the career of the incumbent president was brought to an end and John P. White of



Soon after his election as Gompers' successor, President Green was photographed with the members of the Executive Council at the A. F. of L. Building in Washington. Of the Council members of 1925, only Matthew Woll (second from left) and Daniel J. Tobin (fourth from left) are still on the Council today.

Iowa became the new president of the U.M.W.A. It was in that same year, 1911, that Bill Green was appointed international statistician.

The miners and other people of Coshocton and the surrounding area thought Billy Green, who by now was not only prominent in trade unionism but also in several fraternal organizations, would

be a good man to send to the Ohio Senate. He was nominated by the Democratic Party and, to his surprise, was elected. Bill Green served two terms in the Legislature, and he wasted no time while at the state capital. His first move, following his election, was to introduce a bill abolishing the mine-screen. The coal operators and their

Calvin Coolidge was President of the U.S.A. Bill Green and Frank Morrison, then A. F. of L. secretary, are in the front row with the Chief Executive.





Outside the White House with President Herbert Hoover (center, wearing dark suit). Between William Green and Mr. Hoover stands James Davis, then Secretary of Labor.

agents swarmed into Columbus. They used every argument they could think of in their efforts to block the bill. But Senator Green knew from personal experience that the screening system deprived the miner of a square deal. He spoke for his bill in moving language. He convinced his fellow legislators that he was in the right. The bill was passed and signed. The passage of the Ohio Mine Run Law ushered in a new day for the men who went down into the bowels of the earth to dig coal.

Senator Green also introduced a bill for workmen's compensation. Once again the fight was a bitter one. Insurance companies from all over the United States were violently opposed to the proposal. But William Green stood fast. Ohio enacted the Workmen's Compensation Law sponsored by the coal miner from Coshocton. In time other states also adopted such legislation, using Senator Green's statute as a model.

In 1913 the forty-three-year-old Bill Green, having achieved recognition as a champion of labor's cause, became secretary-treasurer of the United Mine Workers. He was reelected regu-

larly thereafter, resigning reluctantly eleven years later only when he was elected to an even more important office.

It was the heyday of injunction judges and strong-arm methods by employers who hated unions and were determined to deprive working people of their right to organize. As Bill Green often said, the kind of work that miners do breeds daring. And so, even with all the odds against them, they would resist their oppressors. In West Virginia and elsewhere, there were many strikes, even though the miners knew that a stoppage of work meant immediate eviction from their homes and the arrival on the scene of carloads of gun-toting company thugs.

A strike broke out in West Virginia. The operators hurried into the court of Judge Anderson and applied for an injunction. They went to this particular judge because they knew he hated unions as much as they did. They asked Judge Anderson to order the United Mine Workers not to feed the strikers, and the judge said that he would issue an injunction to that effect. Injunctions to break legitimate strikes were being is-

sued all over the country in those days. Judges were only too happy to oblige employers.

William Green, secretary-treasurer of the United Mine Workers, stood up in the courtroom. He looked Judge Anderson in the eye and he spoke.

"Your honor, these families are the wards of our international union," said William Green. "Every scrap of food they have we buy for them. We cannot let these women and children die. If you issue the injunction, I must choose whether to obey it and let the miners and their families starve or violate it and go to jail. Your Honor, I cannot let the women and children starve."

Judge Anderson, scowling, modified the injunction so that the union could feed the strikers and their families.

The years went swiftly by. William Green was now attending the annual conventions of the American Federation of Labor as a member of the delegation from his international union. His reputation was excellent. His achievements were known and highly regarded. The time came when he was nominated for a vice-presidency of the A. F. of L. He was elected and served thereafter uninterruptedly as a member of the Executive Council. After the war, in 1919, he was chosen to go to France with President Gompers and other A. F. of L. leaders, attending the Versailles Conference and aiding Gompers in his fight for the establishment of the International Labor Organization.

Soon after the 1924 convention of the American Federation of Labor, President Gompers died. After the funeral the Executive Council met at the Elks Club in New York City to choose a successor to the fighting cigarmaker. Fully conscious of their heavy responsibility, the members of the Council elected William Green, then third vice-president, to be the new president of the American Federation of Labor. The date was December 19, 1924.

Following the adjournment of the Council's special meeting, the coal miner from Coshocton made this statement:

"I have been chosen by the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor to be the successor to our late lamented leader, Mr. Gompers. This high honor came to me unsolicited and unsought. I regard it as a call to service, and for that reason I feel it my solemn duty to accept and to serve. * * * It shall ever be my steadfast purpose to adhere to those fundamental principles of trade unionism so ably championed by Mr. Gompers and upon which the superstructure of organized labor rests."

President Green was determined to carry forward the work of organization and education among the working people of America. He also made known that he would seek "the acceptance of the organized labor movement by all classes of people as a logical, necessary moral force in the economic, industrial and social life of our nation."

"While striving for the attainment of these praiseworthy purposes," the new president of the American Federation of Labor said on the day of his election, "we shall ever be mindful of our duties and obligations as American citizens. Our devotion to America and American institutions must never be successfully challenged. Our problems must be met and solved upon the basis of American fair play and in accordance with American traditions and American ideals."

It had been a long road from the coal mine to the presidency of the American Federation of

President of the A. F. of L. for only a few years, he posed with old friend, John Lewis.





With members of the Executive Council. From left, Frank Morrison, Mr. Green, John Coefield of Plumbers, Matthew Woll and Frank Duffy.

Labor. William Green was then fifty-four years of age. After the meeting of the Executive Council at which he had been elected as Gompers' successor, he visited the old home town. He was met at the railroad station by Coshocton's mayor and a committee of prominent labor leaders and businessmen. With a band at the head of the parade, he was escorted to a hotel, where the new president of the A. F. of L. was greeted and congratulated by his friends, neighbors and fellow townsmen. They called him Billy. He was al-

ways plain Billy Green to the people of Coshocton. They were mighty proud of their neighbor and friend who had become so famous.

In the January, 1925, issue of THE AMERICAN FEDERATIONIST, President Green wrote:

"Our movement has created great traditions. It has imbedded in our national life great principles. It has become to all Americans a great bulwark of human freedom. It is the accepted defender of the fundamental rights and interests of the masses of our people. It is the voice of

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millions of wage-earners throughout our land. It is looked to with hope and assurance everywhere by those who, standing alone, are weak and defenseless.

"The oppressed of other lands have found encouragement and support in its strength and in its ceaseless struggle for justice and freedom. It has no other purpose than to promote the great principles and ideals of human freedom, justice and democracy. To these it must give its full support. It can never have any other purpose.

"As an advocate of the creed, the philosophy, the principles of this great movement, I shall endeavor to bring a full measure of devotion and effort. There has been left to all of us a legacy of inestimable value which will serve to chart our course. Our strength lies in our unity. And so long as our hearts are true to the great principles and ideals of our movement, we shall have unity. There is great work to be done. Let us go forward, all defenders of a common cause."

And in another editorial, entitled "Labor's New Year,"



With millions of citizens out of work, he called at the White House with fellow trade unionists and Secretary of Labor Frances Perkins.

He conferred with United States Senators and enlisted their backing for legislation needed to insure a square deal for people who labor.



the new head of the American Federation of Labor wrote:

"In 1925 may there be less of intolerance, more of understanding, more of fair dealing among men. Bigotry and hatred have no place in the great industrial world of today. Cooperation and understanding must be the watchwords of democracy if democracy is to serve humanity as it was intended to serve. * * * As labor lives happily and as it secures justice, so it is with all men and women everywhere throughout our country. Those who seek to oppress labor by that token seek to lay upon every American a burden and a badge of oppression. As labor is free so all are free."

And President Green also expressed, soon after his election, his passionate devotion to the democratic way in the following words:

"There are differences of opinion in the American labor movement, there always have been and it is to be hoped there always will be. This must be so in any movement in which great numbers strive for great ends and cherish great and noble ideals. But the differences of opinion are, in the labor movement, but a badge of the sincerity and seriousness of our purpose. Through honest differences of opinion men arrive at truth."

When William Green assumed the presidency



He was a kindly, sympathetic man. He listened to and tried to help all who brought problems to him.

of the American Federation of Labor, the movement did not have the strength or the standing it was to win later. The total dues-paid membership of the A. F. of L., as reported at the 1924 El Paso convention, was 2,865,000, a substantial decrease from the high of 4,078,000 which had been attained four years before. Organized labor had many determined, powerful enemies and faced many difficult problems. Employers were fighting with all their resources to prevent the spread of trade unionism. They were using



He spoke for working people at labor conventions and at other gatherings across the country.

yellow-dog contracts, company unions, injunctions and thugs to block progress by organized labor. There were jobs for people in 1925, but millions of wage-earners were compelled to toil long hours for shamefully low pay. The power of government was almost invariably on the side of big business. It was the time of Calvin Coolidge. Wall Street's power was great.

President Green had to do more than cope with hostile employers. The Communists were making trouble. Moscow's agents were under instructions to wreck the American Federation of Labor. Responding to their orders from the Kremlin, the Communists established many organizations with adroitly chosen, innocent-looking names, and through these organizations they were working night and day to undermine bonafide trade unions affiliated with the A. F. of L. One of the more prominent of these Communist agencies was the so-called "Trade Union Educational League." And there were many others.

From the start President Green had to battle against anti-labor employers, anti-labor government officials and agencies, anti-labor Communists. And in 1925, as in years past and in years to come, he found that the opposition of the bulk of daily newspapers and mass-circulation magazines also had to be faced.

On October 5, 1925, at Atlantic City, in his keynote address to the forty-fifth annual convention of the American Federation of Labor, the new president told the delegates:

"It is not our purpose to attack the institutions of our government. We love our government. We love America. We love its history and its traditions. What we complain of is the abuses of government, and as the representatives of a great army of American citizens, we claim the right to criticize the usurpation of power by any institution created under our form of government."

And on that occasion Bill Green also said:

"It is our purpose to carry on the struggle for the realization of that degree of social justice to

which the workers of America are entitled. * * * I only ask you, when you become a little discouraged and pessimistic, when you hear men challenging the American labor movement, when you hear the thoughtless assailing us, to point to the record, to study it with its glowing pages of achievement and advancement, and that will be the best answer to any challenge that may be hurled against us."

He spoke again on the second day of the con-



Saluting the colossal New York State Federation of Labor parade in 1939. Two weeks later World War II began.

vention, responding to the address of a fraternal delegate in which friendship toward Moscow had been urged. He lashed out at the Communists and their ideas and practices in language that could not be misunderstood.

"I want to be frank and kindly in all I say," declared President Green, "but we in America know something about the teachings of communism and the control the Communist Party exercises over the so-called Russian International. We know that here in America that influence emanating from Moscow is seeking, as it has always



Enjoying a hearty laugh with Franklin Roosevelt. He and F.D.R. were always on very friendly terms.

sought, not to cooperate with us but to capture and control us. They are frank in their declarations. They call the officers and the representatives of the American labor movement 'fakers, crooks and scabs.' They declare frankly that they do not believe in collective bargaining; they call collective bargaining 'class collaboration.' *** The Trade Union Educational League here in America, which is the creature of the Communist Party, controlled and directed by a man who at one time was active in the trade union movement, frankly announces that its policy is to bore within the labor movement, to destroy it and substitute for our philosophy the philosophy of communism.

"We are not ready to accept that, and we wish that our friend who has so kindly advised us and has offered us such frank suggestions might take back to the Russian Red International this message: that the American labor movement will not affiliate with an organization that preaches that doctrine or stands for that philosophy."

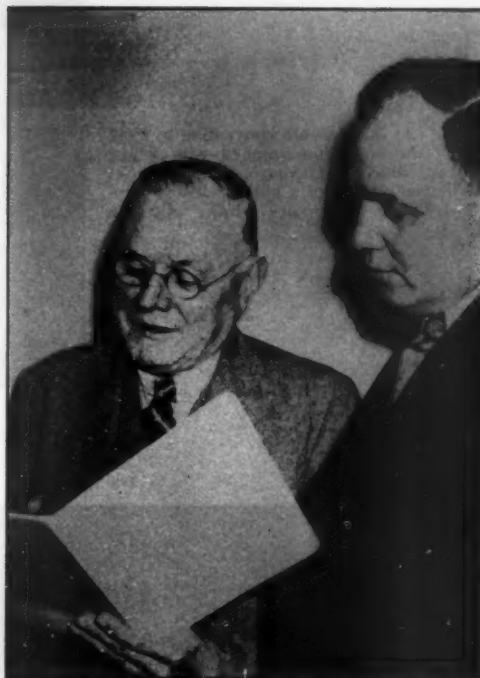
The delegates were delighted. They leaped to their feet and applauded President Green with great enthusiasm.

On October 15, the tenth day of that Atlantic City convention of 1925, President John L. Lewis of the United Mine Workers was recognized when nominations were called for. He told of the selection of his old colleague, William Green, by

the Executive Council after the death of Sam Gompers ten months before.

"I think the judgment of the Executive Council was right upon that occasion," Mr. Lewis said, "and I think the American Federation of Labor will do well today to put the seal of approval on it."

The convention did just that—by unanimous vote. That was the first time that Bill Green was elected to the presidency of the A. F. of L. by the convention. But it was not the last. At every convention thereafter, through the Twenties, the Thirties, the Forties and on through his last convention, the New York City convention of September, 1952, Bill Green was nominated and re-elected. And always the convention's action was unanimous. For twenty-eight long years he was the valiant leader of the world's foremost labor movement. For all those years he was always one who, as was said of him in Atlantic City at



He had a new colleague in George Meany. The year was 1940, and Hitler was rolling.

With Secretary-Treasurer Meany he showed F.D.R. a painting used by A. F. of L. for a pre-Pearl Harbor poster.



At the Toronto convention in 1942 he was photographed with Prime Minister Mackenzie King, a former adversary of a bitter industrial episode. Secretary Meany at right.



He discussed war production with a Senator who was destined to become Chief Executive.



Among his visitors was Britain's Clement Attlee, later to be chosen his country's Prime Minister.

that first convention over which he wielded the gavel, "saw fit with his all to defend and proclaim the rights of labor and the rights of his oppressed fellow men."

William Green during subsequent years made many speeches and wrote many editorials for *THE AMERICAN FEDERATIONIST*. Always he pleaded earnestly and eloquently for a square deal for the toiler, a fair opportunity in life for

his children. Always he advocated justice for all peoples everywhere. Never did he compromise with evil. Never did he fail to strike with all his might against evil—against bigotry and hatred, against communism and fascism and autocracy and every other form of tyranny and brutality conjured up by scoundrels.

His was the guiding hand behind the organizing efforts of the American Federation of Labor



William Green with Executive Council members at a meeting during the war. Seated with him, Secretary Meany and Vice-President William L. Hutcheson. Standing, from the left, Vice-Presidents W. C. Birthright, Edward Flore, Felix Knight and Harry C. Bates. Brothers Flore and Knight are dead.

during the late Twenties and thereafter. He wanted to see all the downtrodden, unorganized workers, in the South and in other parts of the nation, organized into sound, strong unions and able to secure, through their unions, fair wages and decent working conditions. He appealed to

powerful employers to abandon the shameful device of company unionism and not interfere with their employes when they tried to establish real unions. Some employers listened; many did not.

And in 1929 the stock market collapsed, fac-

In the lines of his face the strain of the long years was beginning to show. The war added greatly to his customary heavy burden. But Bill Green did not falter or flinch; he just carried on. Like his fellow trade unionists, he was working for the eagerly awaited day of victory.





He exhorted the soldiers of production through the war to let nothing slow down the flow of planes, ships, guns.



Decorated for his war services, he accepted a medal for A. F. of L.'s membership as a whole.



He was welcomed by trade unionists from coast to coast. He was a great traveler.



tories closed and a terrible depression settled over the land. Production had been mastered, but the purchasing power in the hands of average citizens was much too small to enable them to buy what the factories were able to turn out so rapidly. William Green had warned the anti-labor industrialists that their opposition to the growth of trade unions would prove disastrous. They would not heed his prophetic words. Depression had America by the throat. Millions were out of work. Men, women and children were hungry. It was the time of Hoover, apples

and prohibition. Prosperity was just around the corner, the unemployed were assured.

President Green wanted action taken to deal with the desperate industrial situation. He urged that Congress establish "a compulsory five-day workweek and six-hour workday." The thirty-hour week should be adopted without any reduction in wages, he emphasized. The millions who were out of work had to be put back to work without further delay, he told Congress.

He was also carrying on, during those early years of his long term as the president of the

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American Federation of Labor, a vigorous battle for the abolition of the hated injunction and the despicable yellow-dog contract. With the American people and Congress fully conscious of the depression's ravages, President Green's eloquent appeals for remedial legislative action proved effective. In March of 1932, Congress passed the epochal Norris-LaGuardia Act. The great victory was hailed by the hosts of labor. For weary decades the trade unionists of the nation had set forth the unfairness of injunctions that tied labor's hands. Now, at long last, in the midst of a terrible depression, President Green saw the goal attained. It was a happy day.

In November of that same year of widespread unemployment the American people went to the polls. They elected a new President. It was on March 4,



As the chieftain of the American Federation of Labor he appeared frequently before Congressional committees.



He chatted with a postwar German trade union leader.



He showed a keen interest in problems of Asian labor men.



He accompanied President Petrillo when the Musicians made Harry Truman life member.

He was honored by Negro workers for his efforts to get fair play for all.





Receiving the gavel at 1948 convention.



With George Meany at convention.

1933, the day after President Green's sixty-third birthday, that Franklin Delano Roosevelt of New York was inaugurated as the President of the United States. The New Deal was launched. Business began to revive. The unionization of working people was strongly encouraged by Section 7(a) of the National Industrial Recovery Act and then by the Wagner Act. National law recognized the right of workers to establish trade unions. The American Federation of Labor stepped up its organizing activities. President Green was fully aware that the labor movement had been given an unprecedented opportunity and responsibility. He pointed out that "the demand of the moment is to promote organization."

The A. F. of L.'s organizers and the organizers of the affiliated national and international unions threw themselves into the organizing drive. And they were successful in bringing many thousands of unorganized workers into the trade union family. Where the total



He hit hard at Taft-Hartley Act.

paid membership reported to the 1933 Washington convention had been only 2,126,000, the figure swelled to 3,045,000 by 1935 and to 3,422,000 by 1936.

In 1935, to President Green's sadness, an event occurred which he regarded as tragically wrong. Shortly after the 1935 A. F. of L. convention at Atlantic City, the Committee for Industrial Organization was formed under the leadership of John L. Lewis. Later the group established itself as the Congress of Industrial Organizations. The C.I.O. averred that the issue was the industrial form of organization, but Bill Green, in his speeches and his writings, showed that this claim did not square with the facts. The real issue, he declared, was whether the American Federation of Labor, the organized labor movement of America, should be governed by majority rule and follow democratic procedure.

"Shall the will of the majority of the membership of organized labor be the supreme law of the American Federation of Labor?" he asked. "That is the issue."

President Green always deplored the split in American labor. He hoped and appealed for a restoration of labor unity. At convention after convention he issued cordial invitations to the unions outside the American Federation of Labor to "come back into the house of labor." It was his fondest wish to see the division terminated. He felt that organized labor was injuring itself through the lack of unity and was giving encouragement to those who still sought to shackle the wage-earners. Despite his best efforts, the division continued.

Always a staunch patriot, President Green mobilized the American Federation of Labor for the nation's defense during World War II. He saw to it that maxi-

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He exchanged views with union leaders.

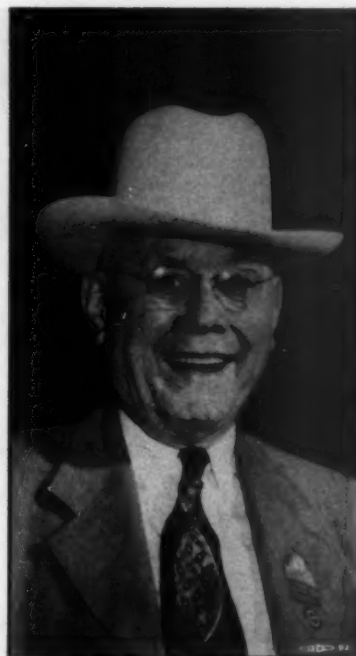
mum cooperation was given to the government. President Green was in the chair at the special meeting of American Federation of Labor unions, right after Pearl Harbor, when the no-strike pledge was adopted. All through the hard years of the war he gave unsparingly of himself.

Although no longer a young man, he was as energetic as ever, working many long hours at his desk and traveling thousands of miles to address labor conventions and other gatherings. Without the soldiers of production, the war could not have been won, and President Green inspired the men and women on the home front to keep pouring out the urgently needed ships and planes and tanks and guns. Under his leadership, the American Federation of Labor made a glorious wartime record.

He was moved to indignation on October 8, 1943, at the Boston convention of the American Federation of Labor, when a guest speaker, National Commander Warren Atherton of the American Legion, saw fit to voice criticisms of the quality of labor's cooperation in the war effort. President Green could not remain silent. In answer to Atherton's blasts at labor, the leader of the A. F. of L. said:

"The American Federation of Labor has never officially ordered or approved a strike of one, five, ten or a hundred men since the dastardly attack was made upon us at Pearl Harbor. We have kept the faith and we are keeping the faith. We are producing the planes, the guns, the tanks, the ships, the war material so necessary in order that our brave men on the battlefields of Africa, in the South Pacific, in Italy and wherever the war is being fought may be adequately supplied.

"And, Mr. Commander, it might be of interest to tell you that since Pearl Harbor, while the soldiers of production represented here in this convention have been giving their skill, their lives, their training, their genius and their American services in the production of materials in order to make this war a success, 80,000 of them have been killed and we have buried them, many of them in unknown



At the 1950 Houston convention.

graves. Does that count for anything or does it mean anything?

"Then, Mr. Commander, there are 2,000,000 members of the American Federation of Labor in the armed services of the nation. We have planned and are planning for their return, as well as for the return of others who are serving on the battlefields.

"I have spoken in response to your address, Mr. Commander, in a sincere and honest way. I have



He honored Sam Gompers' memory in 1950.



President Truman and Mr. Green spoke at the dedication of Gompers Square in 1951.

spoken to you in the kindest manner. I want you to get our point of view. It is my wish that we may all see this situation as it is.

"Perhaps when Gabriel blows his trumpet in the morning and the dead shall rise from the earth, and those who are living shall be assembled, as Holy Writ tells us, for the purpose of ascending into Heaven, we may then construct a perfect world out of imperfect material. But until then, Mr. Commander, we must deal with the imperfections of human nature and serve as best we can."

Courteous, tolerant, considerate and kind though he was, William Green was never one to keep still if someone maligned his beloved American Federation of Labor. The unfair critic might be a powerful public figure, a syndicated columnist, an editorial writer. It made no difference who he might be—Bill Green would not ignore the unwarranted aspersions. He would reply. He would defend the Federation—and his defense was effective, for he did not resort to calling names but cited the irrefutable facts.

All his days Bill Green believed in man, the freedom of man, the dignity of man. He was never taken in by those who wanted to rob man of his human rights. He was always an enemy of the Communists, the Nazis, the Fascists. He knew they were evil. He punctured their propaganda. With all his might he fought communism and every other form of tyranny throughout his life. He refused to deviate or compromise. He had

denounced the Communists when he was still secretary of the United Mine Workers, and he continued to lash them until the last days of his life. He was one of the first to rip the mask off the malevolent Adolf Hitler and his Nazi gang. Shortly after Hitler grabbed power in Germany, William Green assailed him and urged an economic boycott against the Nazi regime. He condemned the misdeeds of Mussolini and those who were in the saddle in Japan. And the president of the American Federation of Labor fought hard against the enemies of liberty within our own country as well as those in distant places.

The A. F. of L. under his inspiring leadership had served faithfully all through the war. No other non-governmental organization had contributed to victory more than the A. F. of L. And yet, only two years after the surrender of Germany and Japan, a reactionary Congress proceeded to shackle organized labor. That was labor's "reward" for magnificent service. President Green was deeply disturbed. He knew that the Taft-Hartley Act was utterly one-sided and unfair, and he denounced it as "vicious anti-labor legislation." Free-



A chat with Boris Shishkin at the New York convention.

At his last convention history was written. Two candidates for President made speeches.



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dom was always of prime importance to the president of the American Federation of Labor, and he knew the Taft-Hartley Act was wrong because it cut sharply and deeply into the treasured freedom of the American wage-earner. In a letter to the *New York Times*, President Green said:

"Here is compulsion, a form of involuntary servitude, because when free working men, owning their labor, are compelled by court injunction to work against their will, they are slaves to that extent. * * * Aside from an attack on the fundamentals of personal freedom which working men and women cherish as a common heritage, the anti-labor legislation referred to in this communication would render unions weak and impotent, create a highly objectionable bureaucracy and provide methods by which labor-hating employers could destroy labor unions through the institution of prosecution of civil damage suits."

In that year 1947 the reactionaries were in the saddle in Congress. They refused to listen to William Green or Harry S. Truman. The Taft-Hartley Act was passed over the President's veto. William Green was angry. He condemned the unjust action of Congress. He warned labor's opponents that the American Federation of Labor would not rest until the Taft-Hartley Act had been repealed. The annual convention of the A. F. of L., held at San Francisco, voted to establish Labor's League for Political Education.

Through the five remaining years of his life, William Green worked as hard as he knew how to bring about the erasure of the unfair Taft-Hartley Act. He was deeply disappointed when all repeal efforts failed even after the victory of President Truman and the Democrats in the 1948 election. Although the Democratic platform had pledged repeal, when the test came in Congress some months later, the votes needed to carry out the pledge could not be found.

President Green traveled to London in 1949 to play a leading part in a momentous event, the establishment of the International Confederation of Free Trade Unions. The formation of the I.C.F.T.U. was an objective he long had cherished. Such an organization was urgently needed by the free world in order to resist Red tyranny. Before delegates representing free trade unionists around the globe, he said:

"I can see nothing more practical in the program of our new world organization than a frontal, aggressive fight against the enemies of world reconstruction, against all foes of human freedom, against all those who seek world domination through aggression, against all the opponents of orderly, peaceful progress.

"In this same spirit I can see nothing more idealistic than to assure, through practical, everyday trade union action, the constant improvement of the working and living conditions of the laboring people of every nation, regardless of race, color or creed."

At the 1950 A. F. of L. convention in Houston and the 1951 convention in San Francisco, William Green was in his usual excellent form as a vigorous speaker and an efficient and gracious presiding officer who was constantly on the job. Despite his advanced years, his health was good. But in September of 1952, at the New York City convention, it was obvious to every delegate that President Green's health had broken. It showed

in his drawn face. Weary and ill, he nevertheless carried on, gallantly, to the very end of the convention, and in his closing remarks—the last he was ever to make at a convention of the American Federation of Labor—he said:

"And now we have reached the end of our constructive journey to New York City, the end of our work here. Our convention will go down in history as one of the outstanding conventions of the American Federation of Labor. And now, exercising my official responsibility and duty as president of the American Federation of Labor, I declare the seventy-first annual convention of the American Federation of Labor adjourned sine die."

In October he took himself back to Ohio, back to the old home town. He spent some time at the Coshoc-ton Memorial Hospital. Then he went home. Always thinking of the American Federation of Labor, he kept in touch with Washington headquarters by telephone. He was saddened when the voters on November 4 failed to elect the man he wanted to win, Adlai Stevenson of Illinois. And then a few days later came another hard blow—the sudden death of his old friend, Philip Murray.

On Thursday, November 20, in his home at 409 South Fourth Street, President Green suffered a heart attack. In the night he sank rapidly, and on Friday, November 21, at 1:22 in the afternoon, a great heart stopped beating and life ended for this beloved, kindly man who had served mankind for so long.

On Monday, November 24, William Green was laid to rest in South Lawn Cemetery, not far from where he was born, not far from where he had carried water and dug coal and become a trade unionist. William Green, friend of man, was gone—and millions mourned.

Not far from his birthplace, William Green was laid to rest.



George Meany Is Elected To Succeed William Green



George Meany, president of the American Federation of Labor

GEORGE MEANY is the new president of the American Federation of Labor. He was elected unanimously to succeed the late William Green at a special meeting of the A. F. of L. Executive Council held in Washington on November 25. Brother Meany has been the secretary-treasurer of the American Federation of Labor since January 1, 1940. To take his place as secretary-treasurer, the Executive Council unanimously elected William F. Schnitzler, president of the Bakery and Confectionery Workers International Union. All members of the Executive Council except Vice-President William L. Hutcheson were in attendance at the history-making special session.

The unanimous election of George Meany to the presidency of the American Federation of Labor came as no surprise. For a number of years he has been held in the highest regard

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by his colleagues on the Executive Council and by officers and members of affiliated A. F. of L. organizations throughout the country. During his years as the secretary-treasurer of the American Federation of Labor, George Meany had won recognition as a dynamic, result-producing trade unionist possessing the mature judgment and other essential qualities required for the leadership of the labor movement in difficult times.

George Meany was born into a labor home in New York City on August 16, 1894. His father, Michael J. Meany, was a plumber and an active trade unionist. After attending the public schools, George Meany in 1910 entered upon his apprenticeship in the plumbing trade. Five years later he became a journeyman plumber.

As a member of Local 463 of the United Association of Plumbers and Steamfitters, George Meany impressed his fellow members, and in 1922 they elected him to his first union post—business agent of the local. Highly pleased with his performance of the duties of this office, the membership of Local 463 reelected him steadily thereafter. Brother Meany also became prominent in building trades and general A. F. of L. affairs in the nation's largest city.

The New York State Federation of Labor elected him as its president in 1934. He was reelected each year thereafter, through the August, 1939, convention held in New York City, which was preceded by the biggest labor parade—up Fifth Avenue, from morning to midnight—in American history. A few weeks after that convention adjourned, the American Federation of Labor drafted George Meany for the office of secretary-treasurer, electing him by unanimous vote at the convention held in Cincinnati.

During the period that George Meany was president of the New York State Federation of Labor, he prevailed

upon the Legislature to enact more beneficial labor laws than had been enacted by the Empire State in all its previous history. He revitalized the State Federation of Labor and made it into a most effective instrument for the advancement of the well-being of laboring people.

Applying the traditional non-partisan political policy which Samuel Gompers had laid down, George Meany mobilized non-partisan labor support for the election to public office of meritorious, clean, friendly-to-labor candidates, irrespective of their party labels.

The new president of the American Federation of Labor has never deviated from the belief that unless a member of a trade union is a good American citizen first of all, he cannot be a good trade unionist. In keeping with this conviction, Brother Meany has given freely of his time and energies over a period of many years toward the strengthening of our nation. During World War II he served as a labor member of the National War Labor Board, and he has served over the years on many other important public boards and commissions.

Throughout his career as a leader of American labor, George Meany has struck punishing blows at the Communists and other enemies of human freedom and decency. Since 1940 he has played a most important part in international labor affairs. One of the first to expose and denounce the World Federation of Trade Unions as an agency serving the interests of Communist Russia, he had a key role in the formation of the International Confederation of Free Trade Unions at London three years ago.

Despite its opponents, the American labor movement has moved forward steadily since the appearance of the A. F. of L. seven decades ago. And George Meany, as the president of the A. F. of L., intends to do everything within his power to insure that this forward movement is not checked.

The best wishes of every trade unionist go to George Meany in his new office. Knowing his successful past record, trade unionists are confident that he will be a great president of the world's foremost labor organization.

Following their history-making action, the Executive Council members were photographed



William Schnitzler Is New Secretary

THE unanimous choice of the Executive Council, at the special meeting held in Washington on November 25, for the office of A. F. of L. secretary-treasurer was William F. Schnitzler, president of the Bakery and Confectionery Workers International Union. Forty-eight years of age, Brother Schnitzler has won national attention as a vigorous and effective labor spokesman and executive.

The office of secretary-treasurer had to be filled by the Executive Council because of the election of George Meany as the new president of the American Federation of Labor. Brother Schnitzler was elected to succeed Brother Meany, and he will take over his new duties on January 1.

The new secretary-treasurer of the American Federation of Labor was born January 21, 1904, in Newark, New Jersey. His father was a metal polisher. Bill Schnitzler was educated in the public schools of Newark. At the age of fourteen, following the death of his father, the future leader of organized labor went to work in a metal grinding shop.

In 1920 Brother Schnitzler entered upon his apprenticeship at the Peerless Baking Company in Newark. He learned his trade and was accepted into membership in Local 84 of the Bakery Workers in 1924. A decade later he was elected business agent of the local. He built Local 84 into a strong organization. He also gave valuable help to other affiliates of the American Federation of Labor during a period when New Jersey employers were fighting organized labor with injunctions and thugs and company unions.

In 1937 Brother Schnitzler became an international representative, and in 1941 he was named general representative of the Bakery and Confectionery Workers International Union.

The manner in which he performed his duties and the impressive results that he obtained were not unnoticed by the union's membership. They also liked his genial personality. All agreed that Bill Schnitzler was doing an excellent job. As a result, he was promoted in 1943 to second vice-president and was also made financial secretary of the international union. In these responsible posts, as in the previous ones he had filled, he gave a very good account of himself.



Brother Schnitzler's great labor record extends from '24 to '52



Our new secretary was snapped with William Green at last A. F. of L. convention

When the Bakery and Confectionery Workers International Union had to find the right man for the important office of general secretary-treasurer in 1946, Brother Schnitzler was the one elected to fill it.

International President Herman Winter retired in March of 1950. To fill the vacancy, the Executive Board of the union unanimously named Brother Schnitzler. He was considered by all to be the right man for the job because of his wealth of experience in trade unionism and his practical knowledge of trade union problems. Delegates to the union's 1951 convention agreed with the judgment of the Executive Board and elected him to a five-year term.

In recent years the new secretary-treasurer of the American Federation of Labor has been living in Chicago, site of the Bakery Workers' headquarters, with his wife, Edith, and their two children, a boy and a girl.

William Schnitzler is a man of principle and highest integrity. He has always believed in doing what is right and not compromising where

principle is at stake. He would much rather do the right thing and suffer a defeat than take an action contrary to principle that advocates of expediency might recommend. An indication of the kind of man he is can be found in the pages of the November issue of his union's magazine. Writing as the president of the Bakery and Confectionery Workers on the results of the Presidential election, Bill Schnitzler then said: "Labor had no choice but to fight hard for its principles and for the rights it had struggled so long to achieve."

The election of William F. Schnitzler as the new secretary-treasurer of the American Federation of Labor is being applauded throughout the labor movement. He has shown himself to be a great trade unionist. His past record has been truly outstanding. He has been a success in each of his previous offices, and he will surely make a great secretary-treasurer of the American Federation of Labor, serving the cause of labor with enthusiasm and efficiency by the side of President George Meany.

Martin Durkin Named Secretary of Labor



The next Secretary of Labor has made a record as an able administrator

A MAN who really knows labor has been chosen by President-elect Dwight D. Eisenhower to be the Secretary of Labor in the new administration. Selected for this important post is the highly respected Martin P. Durkin, general president of the United Association of Journeymen and Apprentices of the Plumbing and Pipe Fitting Industry. The union is affiliated with the American Federation of Labor.

Trade unionists throughout the nation hailed the appointment. General Eisenhower's action was commended by spokesmen for the A. F. of L. and the C.I.O. alike. Organized labor was pleased because the naming of Mr. Durkin was in accord with labor's belief that the head of the United States Department of Labor should be an experienced labor man, in the same way that Secretaries of Commerce are drawn from business and Secretaries of Agriculture from agriculture.

President George Meany of the American Federation of Labor termed the Durkin appointment "splendid." In New York City at the time, President Meany made this statement:

"He is ideally fitted by training, experience, ability and temperament for his new post. Mr. Durkin's appointment will inspire confidence among the ranks of organized labor as the expressed desire and determination of President-elect Eisenhower to be fair to the nation's workers."

Martin Durkin is an able and experienced administrator. He is a thoughtful, quiet-spoken, judicious man. As Director of Labor in Illinois prior to his election to the presidency of his international union, he promoted the passage of legislation needed for the protection of the health and welfare of working people. He also activated the state's conciliation and mediation services so that most industrial disputes in Illinois during his time in office were settled peacefully.

Mr. Durkin, who is now fifty-eight, was born in Chicago. After finishing the eighth grade, he became a steam-fitter's apprentice. He obtained additional schooling by attending night classes.

He entered the United States Army during World War I and served

overseas. He came out of the Army in 1919 and returned to his trade. He was active in his union, Local 597. The members liked the young man and soon chose him as the business manager of the local. In 1927 Mr. Durkin became vice-president of the Chicago Building Trades Council. He also served on various municipal boards and commissions.

Governor Henry Horner, Democrat, appointed Mr. Durkin to the post of Director of Labor. The Chicago trade unionist quickly showed outstanding ability as an administrator. Governor Dwight Green, Republican, decided to keep Mr. Durkin on the job he was performing so satisfactorily.

The next Secretary of Labor is a director of the Union Labor Life Insurance Company and the National Safety Council. He is a vice-president of the Catholic Conference on Industrial Problems. He supported the Democratic nominee, Governor Adlai Stevenson of Illinois, in the recent Presidential election.

Mr. Durkin married Anna H. McNicholas in 1921. They have three sons.

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Rebirth of German Trade Unionism

By HENRY RUTZ

A. F. of L. Special European Representative

ON THE 15th of February, 1946, twelve German trade unionists were called together in the U.S. military government headquarters in Stuttgart to meet with a commission appointed by the World Federation of Trade Unions. This commission was set up at the W.F.T.U. sessions held in Paris the previous September and had as its purpose an "investigation" of the newly organized trade union movement in Germany.

This was the first time that an international labor body had sent emissaries to Germany since Adolf Hitler destroyed the German trade unions in 1933, so the twelve labor leaders, all of whom had served time in Nazi concentration camps or prisons, expected a welcoming hand and an appreciation of their success in organizing unified free trade unions in the eight months since Hitler's collapse.

But the American spokesman of this W.F.T.U. commission let it be known after only a few minutes that he suspected that the trade unions in Wuerttemberg-Baden (the states which these twelve leaders represented) were "not organized from the bottom up by the membership."

The W.F.T.U. commission visited other German states and made the same "investigation" as to the "democratic base" of the German union movement existent at that time.

Several months later this writer, at that time still a U.S. military government officer in Germany, was called to London to be told by the American head of this W.F.T.U. commission that the German unions had to be disbanded because they were organized from the top down, and that they were led by the same Socialist leaders who failed to stand up against Hitler when he grabbed power. It

was stated further that these men could not be expected to organize the democratic type of union which the W.F.T.U. expected in Germany. The American labor leader said he would recommend to his government that no German unions be permitted to be organized above the "plant level" for at least five years!

Shortly thereafter the United States government ordered all unions in the United States zone which had more than a local jurisdiction dissolved. The American labor leader involved was the late Sidney Hillman.

The American Federation of Labor protested this order. We knew that the only reason why W.F.T.U. Secretary-General Saillant and the real bosses of the W.F.T.U.—Communists all—wanted the new German unions chopped down to plant level was that the German Communists had been outmaneuvered by the Socialists and Christian Democrats in taking over labor's leadership. The plans of Saillant and company called for a German mass movement controlled by Communists, such as developed in France and Italy after the war.

Due to the A. F. of L.'s continued protests, the restrictions placed on German unions were gradually reduced. First statewide industrial unions, then zonal-wide unions and finally zonal-wide federations were permitted to be formed. In the summer of 1949 the three Western Zone high commissioners agreed to the merger of the three zonal federations. A delegate congress was called in Munich in October of that year, and the German Trade Union Federation was born.

Between the time the previously formed organizations were ordered disbanded and the holding of the Munich convention, the Cominform

agents worked overtime to get control of the German movement. Thousands of German stooges from the Russian Zone infiltrated into Western Zone factories, backed by tons of Communist literature, for the purpose of taking over the works councils (something like our shop steward system).

Later the W.F.T.U. arranged for a half-dozen meetings between the Russian Zone Trade Union Federation and the three Western Zone Federations in an attempt to force all four Federations into one organization subservient to the Kremlin. But the new labor movement withstood all these pressures and attacks. It was determined to form a new national Federation for Western Germany independent of the W.F.T.U. and its East German satellite.

A few weeks ago the German Trade Union Federation (D.G.B.) held its second regular congress in Berlin. With its 6,200,000 dues-paying members, it has grown to the third largest free trade union federation in the world—next to the A. F. of L. and the British T.U.C.

The D.G.B. convention in Berlin—in comparison to the first congress held in Munich three years before—really wore a "new look." At Munich 26 per cent of the delegates had been over 60 years of age; at Berlin the number of delegates over 60 dropped to 19 per cent. Whereas at Munich only 33 per cent of the delegates had been below 50, at Berlin the number of delegates under 50 represented 55 per cent!

This is significant. It means that 55 per cent of the delegates were less than 31 years of age when Adolf Hitler abolished free unions in May, 1933. In fact, many of the delegates were less than 21 years of age at that time. Few of these 55 per cent had

functional experience in the pre-Hitler labor movement. Then there were the thirteen years of trade union ban—1933 to 1946. That this younger group of trade unionists, often referred to as “the lost generation” because of Nazi attempts at total indoctrination, comprised the majority at the last D.G.B. congress is a testimonial to the sincere efforts of the “old guard” to train and to encourage a successor generation to take over the new responsibilities which are involved in Western Germany’s new trade unionism.

As already stated, West German trade unionists were prepared to deal with Communist influence in the labor movement. At Munich in 1949 the Communists were able to garner about two dozen votes; at Berlin, in two test votes, only two delegates registered in favor of their two Communist resolutions.

Other interesting statistics of the recent convention:

Of the 356 voting delegates, ninety-eight came from the Metal Workers Union (1,578,000 members), forty-nine from the Public Employees and Transport Workers (808,000 members), down to the smallest of the sixteen national unions, i.e., four delegates for the Educational and Professional Union, and two delegates for the Union of the Arts (theater, music, etc.) with a membership of 34,230. Women delegates comprised seven per cent of the total.

During the five-day convention the delegates disposed of over 100 resolutions. These ranged from changes in the constitution, including a reduction of dues to be paid to the D.G.B., to demands asking for a reorganization of the national economy. Under the latter, the Federal German Republic is requested to:

(1) Adopt an economic policy which will secure full employment,

secure the most rational allocation of all economic forces for production and the covering of economically essential needs, while at the same time maintaining the dignity of free men.

(2) Extend co-determination of organized labor with management to other large spheres of employment besides the coal and steel industries.

(3) Transfer the basic industries to national ownership, particularly the mining, iron and steel industries, basic chemicals, power plants, essential transport facilities, and credit institutions.

(4) Effectuate social justice by appropriate sharing of the national product by all working people and granting of adequate benefits for persons incapable of working due to old age, invalidity or sickness.

Most of the debate at this year’s convention centered around the D.G.B. executive board’s strategy in trying to get the German government to pass a co-determination law extending the joint labor-management provisions of a similar law already passed by Parliament for the decartelized coal and steel industries.

Since this innovation (known in German as *Mitbestimmung*) is creating worldwide interest among labor relations experts, a brief resumé of the coal and steel co-determination law’s provisions may be of interest.

Under this law, passed in April, 1951, all major coal and steel plants are provided with a tripartite management executive consisting of a business manager, a technical operations manager and a labor manager, the latter to be elected by the plant’s board of directors.

A board of directors is provided for each plant, consisting of eleven members. Four represent labor. Four represent the shareholders. Each group selects a fifth person from outside of its ranks. The latter two

are to be chosen because of a special knowledge of the particular industry. The ten members then select the eleventh person, a “neutral,” to complete the composition of the board. Of the four labor members, one must be a wage-earner and one a salaried employe elected by the employes of the enterprise.

As the law provides that the labor manager, one of the tripartite management executives, may not be elected against the wishes of the majority of the five labor members on every board of directors, it means in effect that the labor manager will be the selectee of the union.

It is on the boards of directors of eleven members where labor shares in the making of important decisions, including production quantity and methods, purchasing, selling, amount of employment, sale or shutdown of the plant and, most important of all, in appointments to management positions. Labor has an equal voice with management on whether to retool a plant for the manufacture of armaments.

THE QUESTION whether the co-determination law, passed by the German government for steel and coal, is “cold socialism,” as charged by some German industrialists and their allies in other Western countries, including the United States, has been answered best by leaders of the German trade union movement and by the Socialist Party.

The sentiments of both are contained in a typical speech made before trade union delegates attending a convention in Braunschweig by Hans von Hoff, a Socialist and head of the Economics Department of the German Trade Union Federation. He said:

“Labor sees co-determination and socialization as two separate and distinct programs. In co-determination complete state control is not the objective. The objective is the checking of ownership in such a way that public control can be exerted. The objective is to raise all those who work to an equal status with those who claim ownership of industry.

“Co-determination is a method or process of affecting economic policy, rather than having anything to do with actual ownership. Trade unionists would insist on the co-determination right as much under socialism as under private ownership. Co-

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determination and socialization are mutually independent concepts."

Many delegates at the D.G.B. convention criticized their executive board, but especially their president, Christian Fette, for having failed to utilize organized labor's full economic power in the attempt to influence the West German Parliament to pass a general co-determination law extending the coal and steel co-determination law's provisions to other industries, including the public services.

Although one-day general strikes and mass demonstrations had been organized in support of the general law, the delegates felt that this action had either been called off too soon or not followed up properly.

So in spite of the D.G.B.'s protests, the West German Parliament, on July 19 of this year, passed a general co-determination law which ignored most of the D.G.B.'s demands.

The D.G.B. delegates decided that a more militant leadership of the organization was necessary. They voted for Walter Freitag, head of the powerful Metal Workers Union, to succeed Fette as president for the next three years.

AN ARTICLE on German labor would not be complete without reference to the big question which confronts all Germans today: Should Western Germany contribute armed forces for the defense of Europe?

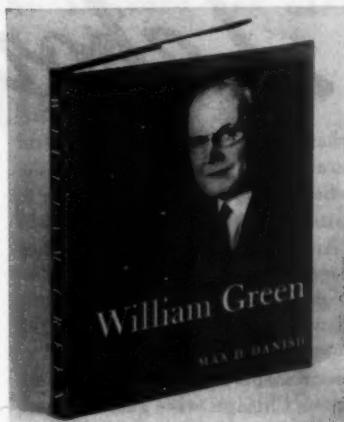
There are large segments of the German population, including the Socialists (who show every indication of becoming the largest party after the next parliamentary elections) and a majority of the labor movement, that are opposed to German rearmament under present conditions.

Frankly, the vacillating policies of the Allies have caused Germans to distrust our aims. We are asking the Germans to contribute men and arms in exchange for our pledge to defend them against the Russians. Yet every month or so they hear a Western military or civilian leader declare that defense along the Elbe is impracticable and that we will have to retreat at least to the Rhine before mounting a counter-offensive.

This naturally suggests to millions of Germans that they are to be used only for a delaying action, with their cities—just recently rebuilt—being left to the mercy of the Russians.

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"William Green: A Pictorial Biography," by Max D. Danish, is a brilliant chronicle of the life of the great leader of the American Federation of Labor. This profusely illustrated, handsome book makes a very fine Christmas gift. Trade unionists will want to read and keep this book. The price of a single copy is \$6, but unions placing bulk orders (25 copies or more) are entitled to a special price of only \$3 per copy. Mail your order today to the American Federation of Labor, Washington 1, D. C., or—to save time—directly to Inter-Allied Publications, 45 West 45th St., New York 36.



For the past eighteen months the Germans have closely watched United States policy in Korea. They believed in the pledges made by President Truman and the United Nations to secure the unification of Korea. But then they saw us start to waver and seize the first opportunity to discuss an armistice with the Communists on the basis of a compromise that would perpetuate the present partition of Korea. Many Germans wonder if the Allies some day will let them down, who also long for a unified country, in a similar manner.

The practices of our Army in violating German labor law in the hiring and firing of indigenous personnel, as well as the Army's insistence upon confiscation of German trade union property—Munich Labor Bank is one example—are old grievances which U.S. government officials have done little to correct to date.

Also not helpful is the case of Dr. Kemritz. This informer for the Soviet secret police was to be tried before German courts for having delivered innocent West Berliners to the Russians. The United States High Commission ordered the Berlin courts to desist and arranged for Kemritz's escape from Germany.

Furthermore, German labor distrusts United States aims because of the obvious and continued support given by our Office of the High Commissioner to the anti-labor Adenauer government. A regime which has staffed its Foreign Ministry 80 per cent with personnel taken over from Adolf Hitler's notorious Ribbentrop cannot be entrusted with the job of establishing a democratic army.

Although Chancellor Adenauer appointed a trade union leader, Theodor Blank, as a sort of Defense Minister without portfolio, the German Trade Union Federation is nevertheless demanding new elections, which will certainly bring about a more liberal governmental alignment, before committing itself to German defense participation.

The German Trade Union Federation is a democratic force which can be depended upon to fight an insurgence of former Nazis to positions of influence, as well as against the Cominform's designs to take over Western Germany.

The D.G.B. has been able to organize all German labor (with the exception of an anti-Communist white collar workers' union) into one unified organization, independent of political party or religious ties.

It is the caretaker of its members not only in matters of wages, hours and working conditions but also for adequate social and community services, of which the following are but a few examples—20,000 housing units have been built by the D.G.B. housing cooperatives; it is conducting sixteen full-time schools for its younger members; it has established cooperative book stores, enabling workers to get the best literature at sharply reduced prices.

Germany, Europe and the Western Allies should be thankful that the workers of the German Federal Republic are organized in a strong democratic federation. This federation may some day be the deciding factor in the success or failure of Communist Russia's drive to the West.

Labor NEWS BRIEFS

►Farhat Hached, leader of the General Federation of Workers of Tunisia, was brutally murdered December 4. He attended the 1951 convention of the American Federation of Labor and made a successful plea for support of Tunisia's efforts to win independence from France.

►Charter members of Local 830, Sign Painters, Chicago, were guests of honor at the local's recent fiftieth anniversary celebration. Fifteen of the charter members are still active. In 1902 the wage was \$2.50 a day; now it is \$2.85 an hour.

►Local 37, Cleaners and Dyers, Peoria, Ill., has entered into a new two-year agreement with the Peoria Institute of Dry Cleaning. The new contract calls for an hourly wage increase and an improved vacation plan.

►Local 84, Bartenders and Restaurant Employees, has won wage increases of 17 to 32 cents an hour and a reduction in hours for members employed at the Coates Hotel, Virginia, Minn.

►Local 130 of the Plumbers in Chicago has sent \$100 U.S. defense savings bonds to journeymen and apprentices who are serving in the armed forces.

►Division 993 of the Street and Electric Railway Employees has secured a wage increase and an improved vacation plan for 256 employees of the City Bus Company in Oklahoma City.

►Federal Labor Union 24814 has won a wage increase and other benefits in a new contract recently negotiated with Best Foods, Inc., Indianapolis, Ind.

►Local 142, Plumbers and Pipe Fitters, San Antonio, Texas, has won higher wages for journeymen and apprentices in negotiations with the contractors' association.

►Local 963, Glaziers, of Washington, D. C., has won an increase amounting to 20 cents an hour in negotiations with the contractors.

►Local 302, Hotel and Restaurant Employees, New York, has obtained improvements in its agreement with the United Nations cafeteria and restaurant, operated by the Lido Shores Corporation. The new contract provides a general wage increase, wage adjustments and vacation improvements.

►Local 2592 of the United Textile Workers, Hartsville, S. C., has won a new contract calling for a wage increase and improved vacation, holiday and insurance provisions for some 300 textile workers at the Hartsville Print and Dye Company.

►Local 315 of the Ladies' Garment Workers has won wage adjustments and an escalator clause in a new agreement with the Montreal Embroidery Manufacturers Association. Higher pay is retroactive to August.

►Local 58, Typographical Union, Multnomah County, Ore., has obtained a weekly wage increase of \$5 and other improvements for printers working for the *Portland Oregonian* and *Oregon Journal*.

►Local 6 of the Hotel and Restaurant Employees, New York, has signed a new contract with the National Democratic Club. The pact calls for wage increases and improved vacation, holiday and insurance provisions.

►Local 287 of the Ladies' Garment Workers, Vancouver, British Columbia, Canada, reports new agreements which call for wage increases and improved holiday and vacation provisions.

►Local 112 of the Jewelry Workers has been successful in obtaining a 12½-cent hourly wage increase in a new agreement negotiated with the Sacramento Jewelers Association of Sacramento, Calif.

►Local 22177, Michigan Consolidated Gas Workers, Detroit, recently obtained a 10-cent hourly wage increase in negotiations with the gas company.

►The Air Line Pilots Association has won a 10.75 per cent wage increase, retroactive to June, for pilots and co-pilots in an agreement signed with Pan-American World Airways. The new contract with Pan-American extends through April, 1954.

►Local 213 of the Electrical Workers, Vancouver, British Columbia, Canada, has obtained a wage increase of 17 cents an hour as the result of negotiations with Neon Products of Western Canada, Neolite, Ltd., and Neon Walburn, Ltd.

►Local 1284, Carpenters, Duluth, Minn., has won a wage increase and six paid holidays in negotiations with the Baxter Company, Heimbach Lumber Company, Radford's Scott-Graff Company and Woodruff Lumber Company.

►Local 97, Iron Workers, Vancouver, British Columbia, Canada, has concluded negotiations for a 20-cent hourly increase to be effective until December 31, 1952, and a further increase of 10 cents to be effective throughout 1953.

►Local 779 of the Plasterers, Vancouver, British Columbia, Canada, reports that a new rate of \$2.25 an hour has been agreed to between the union and the employers' association. The new scale will affect 200 union members.

►Local 165, Cleaners and Dyers, has won a new contract calling for a wage increase of 10 cents an hour in negotiations with twenty-nine Indianapolis dry cleaning plants. The increase is retroactive to May, 1952.

►Local 235 of the Bakery Workers has won a wage increase at the Do-Nut Shop, Springfield, Mo.

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A Christmas Story

THE littlest elf of all sat very quietly. He was perched on a red holly berry and didn't want to fall. Some of the larger elves had smiled at him because they knew he felt very proud and important. This was his first job, and he was taking his work most seriously.

"Why did you choose to sit 'way up here?" asked Glitter, standing beside him.

"Am I up so high?" asked Littlest Elf.

"For you, yes," said Glitter. "For me and all of us bigger elves, no. It's according to size."

"Oh, Glitter, you're so smart," said Littlest Elf. "You know, from up here I feel like I can see all over everywhere. Much better than when I was just standing on the holly leaves."

"And just what are your duties?" Glitter asked.

"I guess the same as yours were at first. I'm to see that the children in this house are kind and good."

Littlest Elf smiled at Glitter, who was turning to go about his business.

"If you need help, call me," Glitter told him.

"I will," Littlest Elf answered. "Thank you for stopping by."

The bowl of holly was in the center of the dining table. The dark green leaves and bright red berries gave a Christmaslike air to the whole room. Everything was quiet and warm. Soon Littlest Elf was nodding.

He was awakened by a sound of rushing footsteps. Then the front door was thrown wide open. With gay, excited voices the whole family came into the house, and over the shoulder of the father was borne the Christmas tree. Oh, it was a beauty!

The father set it down, right in the middle of the floor.

"Not too near the fireplace," cautioned Mother.

"Not too near the stairway," said the fair-haired daughter.

"Not against the wall," said the dark-eyed son.

"Not in front of the windows," said the youngest one.

"Why not right where it is, in the center of the room?" whispered Littlest Elf. And the father said, as though it were his own idea:

"Let's leave it where it is, right in the middle of the room."

The whole family agreed that was the very spot, so the tree was braced firmly in its stand, the very center of everything.

The boxes of ornaments were laid out on the table. Littlest Elf slid off his holly berry and crept over to the edge of the leaf to get a better look at the shining baubles. He gasped as he saw the shining ropes of tinsel and the brilliant colors of the trimmings.

"Oh, do be careful," he whispered. "Don't break the beautiful things."

And the youngest one gently put down the red and blue balls he was clutching in his eager little hands.

"Shall we start decorating the tree right now?" asked Mother.

"Sure, let's begin," said Father.

"Let us all help," chorused the children, each one taking an ornament and hanging it carefully on the tree.

"You do the low branches," Littlest Elf whispered to the youngest one, as he helped him fasten the wire holder.

"See, Mother, I put one on just as nicely!" the youngest one exclaimed, turning to his Mother for praise.

"We'll do the middle branches," said the fair-haired daughter and the dark-eyed son, choosing the colors with artistic taste.

"I'll do the branches out of your reach," said Mother, fastening some shining balls above the children's heads.

"But let the father help," whispered Littlest Elf, as he mysteriously directed the father to hang a tiny silver trumpet beside the bright yellow bird in its tiny cage.

Soon all the boxes were empty, and the cardboards wrapped with tinsel were picked up.

"I'll start at the top with this,"

said Father. "Take it from here, Mother, and wind it 'round the tree through the branches."

"Give me a hand," Mother said, passing the tinsel around to her daughter.

"Here, brother, gently put the silvery stuff through the branches on your side."

"Let me fix it here down low," said the youngest one.

"Now pass it back up again," said Mother. "Help him, daughter," she directed the girl, who took the bright rope from her little brother's moist, warm hand.

"And now, you take it," the girl said, relaying it to her big brother. Then Mother wound it up the other side and Father finished it at the top again.

They all stood back to admire their lovely tree.

But Littlest Elf was almost beside himself. "The Star! The Star! Put up the Star!" he shouted so loudly in his magic voice that the family turned to one another and said:

"The Star! We are ready to put up the Star."

"Let me put it up," said the dark-eyed son.

"No, let me," said the fair-haired girl.

"I'm too little," said the youngest one, sadly.

"Why not have the father and the mother lift the youngest one up, and the brother and the sister can hand the Star to him?" suggested Littlest Elf in his quiet way.

So Mother boosted the youngest one to Father's shoulders and steadied him there, as his brother and sister gave him the shining Star. He fastened it securely to the topmost branch. Littlest Elf and Glitter hovered by to aid the baby fingers.

As his father swung him down to the floor again, the family stood back once more to look at the lovely tree. And the Christmas Star shed its wondrous light upon the happy faces turned to gaze upon it.



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